

West. Journal, vol. 40,
THE
C A S E

FAIRLY STATED:

IN A

LETTER

FROM A

MEMBER of PARLIAMENT

In the COUNTRY INTEREST,

TO

One of his CONSTITUENTS.

*Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non
audeat —.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for M. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Paternoster-Row*. 1745.

[Price Six-Pence.]

THE

CHAMBERS

OF THE

ESTATE

IN

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

In the Court of



One of his CONSTITUENTS

By order of the House of Commons

JOHN

Printed for the House of Commons, by the Stationers

and Booksellers, in the Strand

London

T H E
C A S E

FAIRLY STATED.

S I R,

YOU may remember, that a few Days before I left the Country, in order to attend my Duty in Parliament, we received an Account of Alterations at Court, which you and I flatter'd ourselves, must be attended with some extraordinary Advantages to the Publick :—You cannot forget with what Satisfaction the first News of this Change was received in the Country ; I can assure you, it was received with the same Joy in Town, where Affairs of that Nature are more reasoned upon, and better understood.

You will imagine, that we who owe our Seats to a voluntary Struggle of the People against the Corruption of the Times, were altogether Neuters in the Quarrel:

—We could have no Affections, no Attachments, to either of the Rivals for Power:—We had seen one of those Rivals, during a long Administration, aiding and abetting those wicked Measures that have laid the Foundation of all the Calamities that afflict this Country.—

We had seen the chief of the other Faction, for many Years, vigorously and constantly opposing that Administration; but when the critical Time came, and this Country had Reason to expect a thorough Deliverance; when it was in the Power of him and his Friends, by the Assistance of a cool and dispassionate Majority, to have unloosed the Bands of Corruption, and to have repair'd the Breaches of the Constitution; we saw him basely bargaining for Favour in the Closet, by screening the Crimes of his Predecessor; meanly capitulating in the Dark, for what he might have challenged in open Day; and to perpetuate his ill-gotten Power, plunging this

Country

Country into a ruinous Land War, without a single Ally, contrary to the express Advice of Parliament:—We had seen, in the Prosecution of that War, every fortunate Opportunity that Providence threw in our Way, neglected; every Proposal of retreating out of it with Honour, slighted and rejected.

In this Light these Competitors for Power were considered, and therefore, who could wonder, that three noble Lords who were desirous of taking Advantage from this Struggle, should chuse rather to turn to those whose Interest it seemed to be, to make the greatest Concessions, and from whom the most Good, or, at worst, the least Evil, might be expected?

This Change, as I said, happened before the Meeting of Parliament: When Gentlemen came to Town, one of those noble Persons, with whom many of us lived in Friendship, and whom we all honoured, undertook to treat with us upon this Occasion: He gave us the strongest Assurances of the good Intentions of the new Ministry for a total Change of Measures:—He represented to us, ‘ That by the wild,
‘ im-

' impracticable Manner in which the War
 ' had hitherto been carried on, Affairs a-
 ' broad were in a most distracted Situ-
 ' ation; that this Nation was on the Brink
 ' of a dreadful Precipice, from which no-
 ' thing but the Assistance of the Country
 ' Gentlemen could rescue it, by enabling
 ' the Ministry to get out of the War with
 ' Honour and Safety to the Nation: (a
 ' Thing we must wish as well as they)
 ' That the Ministry would assist us, in Re-
 ' turn, in all the reasonable Securities we
 ' could desire, against those Grievances of
 ' which the Country complained.'—Or
 Words to that Effect.

There needed few Arguments to con-
 vince us of the miserable Situation of our
 Foreign Affairs; and with regard to Do-
 mestick, we came but too well instructed
 by the Calamity and Want we had seen
 in the Country.

We were sensible, that, considering their
 past Behaviour, we had but little Expecta-
 tion of Good from one Set of Men, and
 from the other none at all. We saw, that
 if we refused to support that Side, from
 whence there was a Possibility of Good
 arising,

arising, it would be in Effect, re-establishing the Power of the other, which had already been attended with such fatal Consequences. We foresaw, on the one Hand, the Blame we should justly incur, if by our Behaviour we contributed to put the Helm again into those mad Hands, that had already steered the Vessel so near its Destruction; On the other, we as plainly discerned the Hazard we ran, in supporting those who could only give Promises and Assurances, for fulfilling which some Time, in the Nature of Things, must necessarily be allowed.

In such Circumstances, Sir, we well knew, that our Behaviour would be liable to the Misrepresentation of those whose Interest it was to misrepresent and divide us. But, I must confess, we little imagined, our Conduct would have been compared with that of those Gentlemen who so shamefully deserted us three Years ago. We were then a confessed Majority, able, *if they had been willing*, to redress the Grievances of our Country: That all Inquiry into past Offences was opposed by some of them, from the very Beginning of their
Power,

Power, is notorious; and that others, who outwardly promoted a Committee of Inquiry, made use of it only for private Ends, is as notorious: For tho' the Report of that Committee was allowed, even by an able Friend of the late Minister's *, to contain as black a Scene of Iniquity and Corruption, as ever was laid before a Parliament; yet, when the Turn was served, that Report lay unregarded upon the Table; and such have been the Measures those Gentlemen have since pursued, such the miserable Condition to which they have reduced their Country, that it has been forced in a Manner, to turn for Relief to those very Persons, who had been so deeply concerned in that dark Scene I have just mentioned.

Let us now examine into the Conduct of that worthy Gentleman and his Friends, who have been so unfairly misrepresented on this Occasion.—They saw their Country just sinking, almost beyond the Hopes of Redemption, and considered the Opportunity now offered as the last (and pray God it may not be so!) of propping up a falling Nation, in Hopes of some further Assistance

* One of the City Members.

Assistance to re-establish it on a more solid Foundation.—I appeal to all Mankind, whether this was not the general Opinion at the Time I am speaking of.

But upon the first Overtures, that were made to the Gentlemen, whose Characters deserve this Vindication, how did they act? Did they endeavour to turn the national Distress to their private Advantage? Did they bargain for Employments for themselves and Families? No, Sir; it is notorious, that on their first coming to Town, when they were separately talked to, and solicited to take Places, with unusual Application, their Refusal was almost unanimous: Their Answer, proceeding from Principle, not from any previous Concert, was the same, ' That they were truly sensible of the Miseries of their Country, ' and ready, without any Advantage to themselves, to assist those who should ' stand forth as its Deliverers; but desired ' to be excused from any Share in Employments, till they saw an Alteration of Domestic as well as Foreign Measures.'

They acknowledged, that the great, the immediate Point to be attended to, was the

B

getting

getting rid of the War on the Continent :
 — They knew, that, should the Expenses of That continue but for one more inglorious, inactive Campaign, the Nation would be so exhausted, that all Constitutional Remedies would be as ineffectual as alterative Medicines administered to a Patient who was bleeding to Death. — But did they make this a Pretence for not asking for Constitutional Bills ? No, Sir ; tho' they were sensible their first Application must be to close that Wound, thro' which their Country was bleeding its last ; yet they were not unmindful of preparing Remedies to restore it to its former Vigour.
 — They told the noble Lord I have mentioned, that unless something was done for the Constitution, it was in vain for the Ministers to expect their Assistance ; and for Fear of Mistakes, they put into his Hands their Propositions in Writing, of which the following is an authentick Copy. But I must first clear up a very gross Mistake about those Propositions, which have been maliciously ushered into the World, under the Title of *Broad-Bottom Promises*, with an Insinuation, as if the Country Gentlemen

lemen who made those Demands had actually promised them to their Friends.— They made no Promises to their Friends: God knows! it was not in their Power at that Time to make any Promises.—The Particulars They desired were,

1. That there shall be new Commissions of the Peace for every County, and that all Gentlemen of Fortune be admitted without Distinction.

2. That the Bill for the Qualification of Justices be explained, and made effectual.

3. That no Custom-House or Excise-Officers shall be allowed to vote at Elections of Members to serve in Parliament, and that a Bill be passed for that Purpose.

4. That a Place-Bill, with proper Restrictions, be passed.

5. That there be an Inquiry into the State and Management of the Navy.

6. That when the Circumstances of Affairs shall permit, such a Reduction of the Army be made, as shall be consistent with the Liberties of a Free People.

7. That there be as great Savings as possible in all Parliamentary Grants, and

that a Spirit of Economy be carried thro' the Whole.

8. That the 16,000 *Hanoverians* shall not be continued in *English* Pay, but that other Troops, if necessary, be provided in their Stead.

9. That such Measures only be pursued, as shall be consistent with the Interest of *Great Britain*.

I need not expatiate on the Importance and Utility of these Propositions: As on the one Hand, they were not so stiff and rigid as to be called impracticable, so on the other, I think, they as little deserved the Epithets of trifling and immaterial. And had they taken Place with the Settlement of the Crown, we should not complain of that Load of Debts and Taxes, under which we stagger at this Day. — The Nation hath sensibly felt the Want of such Securities. — You and I have lived to see the inferior Utensils of Offices, and the low Retinue of Ministers, usurp Seats in a certain Place, where they never could have mounted but by Practices unnatural to the Constitution.

I shall not trouble you with answering all the Falshoods, that have been dispersed in Pamphlets, since the Beginning of this Session. I sent you that which has for Title, — *An Expostulatory Epistle to the Welch Knight, &c.* — No Man can be imposed upon by it, but one who is weak enough to take Surmises and Insinuations for Facts; Had the Author meant honestly, he would have waited to have seen the End of this Affair, before he ventured to publish his Reflections. He is an Enemy that puts on the Countenance of a Friend; and if he has avoided opprobrious Language, it is to give some Appearance of Candour to his Misrepresentations. You will see by the following short Recital of Facts, how falsely he has charged us with changing our Behaviour, which, I hope, will appear to be uniform, and consistent with what it has been for near thirty Years; for so long have we been opposing bad Measures; and by the same Principle we opposed bad, we thought ourselves obliged, setting aside Favour and Prejudice to Persons, to assist the Ministers who should first promote any that were good. — This,
Sir,

Sir, we always thought our Duty, notwithstanding the bad Idea that is affixed to the Word Minister; and, I hope, our Behaviour has shewn, that we are steady in the same Principle.

That we did concur with the Ministers in some Votes, is true; but upon Reasons that, I hope, will justify us to our Country. — That we have not met with a suitable Return, is as true; but altho' we have not been able to obtain a Redress of all those Grievances, of which we complain, yet I hope to convince you, that our Conduct is free from the Imputation of Weakness, as well as Treachery.

The Session was opened by a Speech from the Throne, the Address to which passed without any Opposition. — Speeches from the Throne are always considered as the Speeches of the Minister, and have been more peculiarly so of late Years, as containing an Enumeration of his past, and a short Sketch of his intended Measures: These Speeches echoed back, Paragraph by Paragraph, in the Addresses, became the Parliament's Approbation of what was past, as well as their Consent to
what

what was to come ; and tho' it has been of late usually insinuated, that Addresses were Matters of Compliment only, and that the agreeing to them by no Means precluded Gentlemen from giving their Opinion again, when the Particulars came to be singly debated ; yet, it is certain, great Advantage hath been taken from thence, and when particular Measures have been afterwards objected to, it hath been represented as inconsistent Behaviour.

But upon the present Occasion, both Speech and Address were so cautiously worded, that no ill Use of that Kind could be feared from either. And it was with great Pleasure, that we heard his Majesty assure us, that he was then endeavouring, with the States-General, to fix the certain Proportions of Force and Expence for the farther Prosecution of the War.—This necessary Measure had been strongly urged by the Minority in the preceding Session, as a Condition which ought previously to be insisted on with our Neighbours the States, before we engaged any farther in a Cause, in which they appeared to be more
imme-

immediately interested than *Great Britain*. And happy would it have been, if the late Minister had pursued that Advice, at a Time when this Nation might have retreated with more Ease, had the *Dutch* not answered our just Expectations.——If some Suspensions are true, it is no Wonder that a Minister should be unwilling to insist on that Point, when he might be easily answered, that he was not conducting the War, either on a *British*, or a *Dutch* Bottom.

But now this Condition, both in publick and private Discourse, was to be made the *Sine qua non* of our farther Prosecution of the War; and we could not imagine, that our new Administration would propose this Measure, unless they were able to convince the States, that the only Object they had in View, was the making a safe and honourable Peace, for the mutual Advantage of both Nations: And to confirm these Hopes, it was publicly known, that a noble Lord was to be sent on this Embassy, whose confessed Abilities and great Reputation would not permit him to trifle with us on such an important Occasion.

Upon

Upon these Considerations, when our Army in *Flanders* came to be voted, we were induced to add that Weight which Unanimity gives to Parliamentary Resolutions; and surely, this Behaviour cannot be thought inconsistent with the Principles we have always professed. For you will consider, Sir, that though we have constantly opposed, though we still detest those Measures that have brought this Land-War upon us; yet it now becomes our Duty to get out of it as well as we can. Our Honour, our Safety, is now at Stake; for if *Great Britain*, after the Part she has taken, should be reduced to that melancholy Necessity of withdrawing her Forces before a general Peace be made, the Consequences are obvious. Every Power in *Europe*, either actually at War with *France*, or virtually so by her Engagements with the Queen of *Hungary*, must make their separate Treaties of Peace with that Crown, and those Treaties will be so many Sacrifices of the Commerce of *Great Britain*. Who does not see, that if we had instantly withdrawn our Troops, the Maritime Towns of *Flanders* must, be-

fore this Time, have been in the Possession of our declared Enemy? And may we not justly apprehend, that if *France*, in Conjunction with *Spain*, were left at Liberty to exert herself on the Side of *Italy*, the Ports of the *Mediterranean* must soon fall into her Hands?—And what is the most mortifying Circumstance, our Navy, the natural Bulwark and Defence of this Kingdom, from Practices I need not mention, is now become but a feeble, though our only Support. Yet fatal as all these Consequences are, this Measure of withdrawing our Troops must be submitted to, if the *Dutch* do not vigorously co-operate in making this a decisive Campaign.

It has, indeed, been objected, that as the hearty Concurrence of the *Dutch* was the Principle we set out upon, we should have deferred this Vote till we had received their Answer; but as the late Departure of the noble Lord, and the dilatory Forms of their Government made that impossible, the postponing our *Flanders* Army beyond the usual Time, would have given but too specious a Pretence for Backwardness in that divided Republick,
and

and have injured the Cause we meant to promote.—I do not know, whether it may be worth while to mention an Argument that has since appeared in Print, *viz.* *That our voting all the Men and Money necessary to carry on a Land-War, in which we are but remotely concerned, at our sole Expence, was of all Things the greatest Encouragement for the Dutch, who are not immediately concerned, not to stir a Step.* But, I am sure, I need take no other Method of confuting such an Argument, than barely telling you, that we have voted but Twenty-four Thousand effective Men for the Service of *Flanders*, where the Assistance of the *Dutch* is principally demanded. A Force sufficient, indeed, to give Weight to our Ambassador's Negotiations, and to shew the States, that *Great Britain* was in earnest, but a poor Army to fight the Battles of the Republick, or defend the Remainder of her Barrier.

You know, Sir, it was always the constant Advice and Opinion of the Minority to support the Queen of *Hungary* with large Subsidies only; and Experience has since shewn how rightly they judged:

And it is notorious, that when our taking a more immediate Share in this War was thought necessary, the timely and proper Concurrence of other Powers, engaged by Treaties, and bound by Interest to support the Queen of *Hungary*, was made the express Condition of that Advice; and I well remember, our *Sixteen Thousand* national Troops that were soon afterwards sent to *Flanders*, were expressly declared to be sent thither as an Experiment only, to induce the *Dutch* to take a timely and proper Share in this War, by shewing them, we were really in earnest. The little Expectations, or rather the flat Refusal the States gave us, was notorious; yet so bent was the Minister on a Land War, that *Sixteen Thousand Hanoverians* were, that Summer, added to our national Troops, thus continued on the Continent, against the express Advice of Parliament.

One need not say, that the great Scheme was to force the States into the War, by bringing down *France* on the Barrier; nor point out what have been the fatal Consequences of it. The remaining Towns of that Barrier are now held by the good
I Plea-

Pleasure of *France*, and from the Consideration of that precarious Tenure, we did the more easily imagine, that the States would at last concur with us, from Motives of Self-preservation, could they be persuaded that our real Intention was to finish the War by a speedy, and an honourable Peace.

In order to make this vigorous Effort, there was, undoubtedly, need of all the Strength we could exert; and, at such a Time, *Sixteen Thousand* Men could be but ill spared from our Line of Battle. But we thought no Object, however desirable, could justify us to our Country, should we pursue it by the continuing *Hanover* Troops in *British* Pay; and for that Reason, we willingly concurred in voting 200,000*l.* additional Subsidy to the Queen of *Hungary* this Year, to enable her to replace Part of that Strength: As also 57,000*l.* to the Troops of *Hanover* for March-Money home, in consequence of their Dismission.

I know very well the artful Suggestions that have been thrown out on this Occasion by the Friends of the late Minister,
and

and too easily entertained by some of our own: I know it has been said, that this was a mean, evasive Way of pursuing the same Measure: That the *Hanoverians* were still to be paid with *British* Money: That it was no Difference to *England*, whether they were paid immediately by us, or by the Queen of *Hungary* with our Money; and that, all Circumstances considered, this was a less effectual, and less frugal Method, than the actual continuing them in our Pay: And I do not deny, that it was believed at this Time, that some of those Troops would be taken into the Service of the Queen of *Hungary*, to replace Part of that Strength thus withdrawn from the *Netherlands*: But this I affirm, that the Ministers assured the House, that they were under no such Stipulation; and that if the Queen of *Hungary*, for Want of other Troops, should be obliged to take *Hanoverians*, they gave us great Reason to hope, that the Common Cause should have *Twelve* or *Fourteen Thousand* Men from her, for the same Expence *Eight Thousand* had cost us. And supposing she furnishes no more than *Eight Thousand*, yet we shall save
all

all that immense Charge of extraordinary Services, &c. which, for the whole *Sixteen Thousand*, over and above their ordinary Pay and Levy Money, has amounted, in the Compass of two Years and a few Months, to about *Three Hundred Thousand Pounds*.

Thus much may be said for this Measure on the Foot of Economy; but to me, Sir, it appears in a much stronger Light. That the *Hanoverians* are no longer in *British* Pay, is certain; and I dare say, those who advised their Dismission, found much greater Difficulties to encounter, than the pecuniary Consideration alone. Can we forget, that the War itself seemed to be on our Part undertaken for the Sake of these Troops, and not the Troops hired for the Sake of the War? Can we forget that to *Sixteen Thousand British* Troops, exactly the like Number of *Hanoverians* were added; that amongst them there were Horse-Guards, Foot-Guards, and in short, that it was in all Respects a rival Establishment to vye with the *British*? Can we forget the Insults our Countrymen received, and the Partialities shewn to this favoured Peo-

People? And if we remember all this, can we think the Dismissal of these Troops a light Matter; and that it was not attended with Difficulties from a certain Quarter much easier to be guessed at than described?

In Consequence of this Dismissal, we voted eight Weeks Pay to the *Hanoverians* for their March-Money home; a Vote which, however censured, we should all have unanimously concurred in last Session, and a few Months ago had little Reason to expect to carry in this. I am sensible, that no Precedent can be produced of more than six Weeks Pay allowed upon the like Occasions; and, I believe, so much has been constantly given to all Mercenaries, unless they were discharged six Weeks before the Expiration of the Term, they were hired for, which comes to the same Thing: So that the extraordinary Favour we shewed to the *Hanoverians*, was the Addition of a Fortnight's Pay, which, I hope, considering the Difficulties I have just hinted at, will be thought no bad Bargain for the Publick; especially, as it appeared, that when *Eight Thousand* of these Troops marched to join Duke d'*Aremberg*
on

on the *Lower Rhine*, the States General with great Earnestness desired the Continuance of the remaining *Eight Thousand*, whose Pay expired the 24th of *December*, to enable them to evacuate their Garisons, and to send their Forces to the *Rhine*: And what was stronger, the *English* Generals represented, that by withdrawing such a Body from *Flanders*, the *English* Troops would be left exposed to the Enemy.

But the great Consideration of all was, that this Vote was giving a Discharge in full to the *Hanoverians*, and dismissing them for ever from the Pay of *Great Britain*. This Estimate was to appear on our Journals, as the declared Sense of the Legislature, that these Troops ought, on no Pretence whatsoever, to be taken into *British* Pay for the future. For this Vote will remain a standing Memorial to Posterity, that *Great Britain* dismissed the *Hanover* Troops from her Service, at a Time when she knew not where to find others to replace them; at a Time when she was straining every Nerve to make her last Effort on the Continent; and at a Time when her Honour, her Commerce, and I might

D

almost

almost say her very Being, depended on the Success of that Effort.

I believe it will be unnecessary to say any Thing of those Subsidies that have been this Year granted, in Consequence of Treaties, to the Kings of *Poland* and *Sardinia*, and to the Electors of *Mayence* and *Cologne*, to some of which the States General have contributed a Part.—We neither gave our Approbation of that Quota, nor take upon us to justify the making of those Treaties; but in the present Crisis the carrying them into Execution, was undoubtedly conducive to the great End proposed.

It may now be expected, I should give you the Reasons for opposing the Vote of Credit.—If it be necessary in Time of War to intrust an Administration with the expending publick Money in Services that could not be foreseen, during the Sitting of Parliament, the Manner in which this 500,000*l.* was asked, may, in the Opinion of several, be preferred to that Latitude which has often been given in the Clause of Appropriation, which, in Effect, unappropriates all that was before tied up to particular Services, and gives the Ministry

Ministry a Power over the Whole; tho' for my own Part, I should rather chuse to give this Power over the Whole, to be used only on the most urgent Occasions, than a limited Sum, which, I am confident, will, every Shilling of it, be spent, and no satisfactory Account given afterwards to Parliament.

It must be admitted, that when the Ways and Means were opened, it was foreseen, there would be an Overplus of 500,000*l.* over and above the Supplies then asked; but it was then imagined, that a great Part of that Overplus would be wanted for Troops to replace the *Hanoverians*, and for other necessary Services, in order to make this a decisive Campaign.— And it would not have exceeded our Expectation, had proper Estimates been laid before Parliament for those Purposes.— But we were surprized to find, that after all the Credit we had endeavoured to give the Administration by our Unanimity, so little Advantage had accrued to the Publick from it, that our Army actually wanted so great a Part of its Strength as 8000 Men, at a Time when the *French*

D 2

were

were ready to open that Campaign, which was avowedly to be our last:—And that the Administration should, so late as the 21st of *March*, be asking this large Sum to be granted them upon Account, on a Pretence of employing Part of it in an intended Treaty with *Denmark*, a Power at such a Distance from *Flanders*, that if her Troops had been actually contracted for at the Time I am speaking of, they could not possibly have joined our Army till the greatest Part of the Campaign was over.

As for the faint glimmering Hopes given us of an Alliance with *Russia*, which was to take up 200,000*l.* more of this Money, it was something so chimerical, and had been rendered so compleatly ridiculous by the late Minister and his Friends, who for *two* Years together were continually giving positive Assurances of the Accession of that Power, that, I dare say, this Assistance was as little expected by those who mentioned it, as by those who heard of it on this Occasion.

Thus, Sir, you will see, that as our Concurrence in the former Votes did not
proceed

proceed from private Views and indirect Influence, so neither did our Opposition to this arise from any peevish Obstinacy; but that a real and sincere Regard to the Interest of our Country actuated us in both.

During the Course of these Proceedings, we never suffered ourselves to be diverted from the great Object of our Attention, the obtaining Constitutional Points, and continually solicited the passing some Bills for that Purpose.—Two have happily made their Way through many Enemies, and are now ready for the Royal Assent: One, To explain and amend the Laws touching *the Elections of Knights of the Shire*; — the other, To render more effectual an Act for the *further Qualification of Justices of the Peace*.

I shall not trouble you with a particular Account of either: Let them speak for themselves; when they are carried into Execution, their Utility will then be better understood.—Hitherto they have been (I do not presume to know the Reasons) very industriously depreciated and ridiculed by some, secretly undermined, clogged and altered

altered by others, and not supported with that Seriousness and Dignity which might have been expected from a *certain Gentleman*, who at length found it necessary to promise them a safe Passage, and give them a Passport.

The great Use of the last of these Bills will very much depend upon the new Commissions of the Peace, which are with so much Impatience *expected*, because so long wanted, all over the Kingdom. — These two Measures were intended to co-operate and assist each other; and unless *both* are obtained, either alone will be defective. — You will observe, Sir, that new Commissions of the Peace was the first of the *nine* Propositions, and very fitly took the Lead, as it was to redress a Grievance of the longest Continuance, and under which all the Counties in *England* and *Wales* had more or less groaned, during the long Series of a corrupt Administration. — This was to restore Dignity to the Bench, impartial Justice to the Country, and that Power and Authority to Gentlemen of Fortune and Character in their respective Counties, which they had so long,

long, and so unjustly been deprived loss, and had so much Reason to expect.

It is amazing, that a Measure so universally called for, and to which there was not the least Objection made by those from whom it was demanded, should yet meet with so many affected Delays, that above *three* Months have now passed, and I cannot with Certainty assure you, it will be granted. Were my Opinion asked, if I really thought it would be effectually complied with, I have great Reason to express my Doubts, as, I think, I am well founded in saying, it has been once refused; and tho' I am informed, it has been again insisted upon, and now in some Shape or other promised, yet we must wait till we see in what Manner it is carried into Execution; for on that its Efficacy and Usefulness will entirely depend.—And here, give me Leave to observe, that if ever any Administration seriously desires and expects the Assistance of the Country:—If they are in earnest to take the Nation by the Hand, and have its Weight and Authority for their Support and Protection, their Views and Intentions must be open and

and undisguised, upright and sincere:—
 Their Measures must be national and constitutional:—Firmness, Spirit, and Resolution, must enforce those Measures:—All private Connections with the Tools of Corruption must be dissolved:—All dead Weights and Incumbrances must be laid aside:—The publick Good of the Whole must supercede all personal Attachments, and all other Considerations whatsoever.

It requires more Art and Address, than, I believe, ever fell to the Share of any Set of Men in Power; much more, I am confident, than belongs to the present Gentlemen, to serve at once both *God and Mammon*. Such a Scheme must be always idle, and the vain Attempt can only end in the Ruin of all Character and Reputation, the Overthrow and Destruction of those who make it. If, notwithstanding the strongest Assurances, so often reiterated, Foreign Affairs are *not* vigorously conducted upon *British* Views only:—If our Allies the *Dutch* do not concur with us upon proper stipulated Proportions of Force and Expence:—If they do not strain every Nerve with us to make this last Effort, towards
 I getting

getting out of the ruinous Land-War, by a safe and honourable Peace:—(For this is a Point so very essential, that it will hereafter admit of no palliative or evasive Excuses.) If a Spirit of Economy is not shewn in all Measures, foreign and domestick, and immediate Advances made in the great Work of reforming all Abuses, Civil and Military, the present Administration, and those who concur with them, will only heap upon themselves a greater Load of Unpopularity and Odium, and stink more, if possible, than the last, in the Nostrils of the People.

I cannot conclude this Letter, without taking Notice of the Censures of some of our own Friends:—The Arrows from that Quiver, shot at Random, and in the Dark, were as little expected, as deserved:—We have been condemned by some, for acting upon any Terms with Ministers:—Surely, this is too much:—Would they have us behave like the odd Fellow at Sea? who being called upon to lend a Hand to the Pump, when the Ship had sprung a Leak, answered coolly, It was no Business of his, he was but a Passenger. — Passengers,

gers, indeed, we are; but altho' we have not the Command of the Ship, we are the deepest concerned in the Cargo; and, surely, it is our Business to keep the Ship above Water.

Others, not quite so unreasonable, only accuse us of Weakness in trusting to Men, who, they say, have been aiding and abetting all the bad Measures of a most rapacious Administration of *Twenty Years*.—The Defence of those Gentlemen's Characters is not our Concern; but give me Leave to say, that the Business of the State can no more be carried on without giving Credit, than the Business of Trade.—The People trust their Representatives; and when they have been deceived in them, they are obliged to trust others:—I may carry this Matter still farther, and maintain, that Affairs may be so circumstanced, that you may be under a Necessity of trusting even those, of whom you have no very good Opinion; and give me Leave to add, that this was pretty near the present Case.

We knew, we could carry no Points alone:—It is true, the two Rival Factions were

were divided in personal Interest against each other, even to a Rancour; but how did this operate with respect to our Views?

—We saw them unite in every Measure agreeable at Court:—The Discarded were zealous for all Supplies, because they were resolved to struggle for the Disposal of them; but determined Opposers of Constitutional Points, well knowing, that such an Opposition could not weaken their Interest in a certain Place; by which you will see, it was impossible for us to carry any Points without some Assistance.

Our putting some Trust in the present Ministers, could not make our Affairs worse. — If they should break Faith with us, it left us but where we were, and the Effects of any perfidious Conduct could only return upon themselves.

As Interest and Ambition were banished from our Views, we resolved to keep clear of Prejudice and Passion. — If Men break with their Friends, as often as Opinions differ about the Means of attaining the same Ends, no Business will ever be carried into Execution.

It was the Saying of a wise *Roman*, That a good Name is a real and substantial Good.—This Doctrine, indeed, hath been much run down of late Years: That System of Corruption pursued for above *Twenty* Years, as the *Tutamen* of Ministers, could not establish itself, till Men concerned in publick Affairs were brought to a Contempt of Fame and Character:—The Contagion soon spread itself in all Offices, and now we see Fleets and Armies infected.—But these very Men, who affect to despise a good Name for themselves, envy it in others, or they would not endeavour to take it away from them.—However, it was not perhaps altogether Envy:—There might be some Policy in their Attempt to destroy our Reputation and Character:—Their Designs and ours are diametrically opposite:—If they could succeed in bringing the Country to suspect our Integrity, we should no longer be able to serve the Country; and they might with the greater Facility execute all the iniquitous Schemes, which we have constantly opposed.

You

You see by the Pamphlet, intitl'd, *An Epistle to the Welch Knight, &c.* that the little Arts of our Enemies to asperse us, have been more particularly levelled at *one Gentleman*.—Those who know that Gentleman, can receive no bad Character of him; and those who have not the Pleasure of his Acquaintance, can have no other Idea of him than what they receive from the Voice of the Publick, in whose good Opinion he is so happy, that it *is not* in the Power of Falshood or Envy to hurt him.—A Character established upon a Conduct always steady and always honourable, is not to be shaken by Surmises and Insinuations; and I have the Pleasure to tell you, that the Tongues of malignant Men are already put to Silence.

If the Authors know of any Thing more or less (in the Course of these Proceedings) than what we have discovered to our Friends, *Let them speak out*.—We disclaim all dark and private Correspondence with Ministers:—We have no dirty Secrets, which we are in the least afraid should come to Light.—If any Practice inconsistent with our Professions is therefore
come

come to the Knowledge of these Men, what Occasion is there for discovering it by obscure Hints and Innuendo's?—Let them lay it open to the World:—We set all Mankind at Defiance upon this Head.

From what hath happened in the Course of these Affairs, the People have at least this Satisfaction, to find, that notwithstanding Corruption hath made so great a Progress in this Nation, the Whole is not infected, there is still a sound Body left, there is still a great Number of Gentlemen whom Titles cannot allure, nor Preferments bribe, to sacrifice the Interests of the Publick; nor need we despair but that such a Body, firmly united among themselves, and supported by the Nation, will still be able to fence against the Attempts which bad Men may hereafter make against the Constitution.

We have for *Thirty* Years persevered in a constant Opposition against all the Incroachments of Power:—We have the same *English* Hearts we ever had:—We shall watch for the Publick; and are resolved, by a strict and regular Attendance upon our Duty in Parliament, to profit of every Occa-

Occasion that may appear favourable for restoring the Constitution to its former Vigour:—Without taking too much Merit to ourselves, we may venture to say, this is the first Session of *Thirty* Years, wherein any Thing has been done towards a Reformation of Abuses.—The Naval Enquiries carried on with so much Dignity and Impartiality, will, we hope, restore that Discipline in the Fleet which is so much wanted.—Opportunities must be caught as they offer:—Some of the most beneficial Laws we enjoy, were obtained when least expected.

It is no Wonder, that those who know but half the Truth, should apply their Reproaches in the wrong Place; and we can easily pardon the Censures of such of our own Friends as have been imposed upon by false Relations:—They have been taught to expect more than it was in our Power to obtain; and if their Spirits sunk a little with the imaginary Disappointment, it is no more than natural; but the Spirits of a People have their Ebbs and Flows like the Tide; and I do not doubt but they will rise again,

again, when they are acquainted with the true State of Things.

That you may rectify Mistakes, and clear up Misrepresentations, is the Motive for my troubling you with so long an Epistle; for, you know, I have often told you, we do not think ourselves above giving Reasons for our Conduct to those by whom we are intrusted.—I shall conclude this Letter by assuring you, that I have concealed nothing from you.—I have given you a short, plain, and true State of Facts:—We have no Secrets:—We desire to be judged by the Evidence of Truth, and so put ourselves fairly upon our Country.



F I N I S

the
and
otive
g an
told
iving
whom
this
con-
n you
ts:—
to be
nd fo
ciat
me ha
nion
illy
own
alle
o ex
o p
in th
om o
le
ent